

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON:EW

APPROVED BY D:CWROBINSON

AF:WESCHAUFLE

S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

S:DPASSAGE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY

S E C R E T STATE 301170 TOSEC 320198

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH, SW, TA

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: REPLY TO PRESIDENT NYERERE'S
LETTER OF DECEMBER 9 (S/S 7625355)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFLE THROUGH ROBINSON

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT YOU REQUESTED IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT
NYERERE, PREPARED IN FORM OF CABLE TO DAR ES SALAAM.

2. SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE

A. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE.

B. "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: THANK YOU FOR YOUR DIRECT AND
FORCEFUL REPLY TO MY LETTER OF DECEMBER 7. I APPRECIATE
YOUR CAREFULLY REASONED ARGUMENTS WHICH, AS ALWAYS, LEAVE
ME WITH A MUCH CLEARER PICTURE OF WHERE YOU STAND AND WHY.
READING THEM OVER I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE REALLY IS NOT
MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US, AND IF OTHERS WERE AS CLOSE AS
WE ARE THERE COULD HAVE BEEN AN AGREEMENT BY NOW.

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C. "DESPITE SOME MISINTERPRETATIONS THAT HAVE APPEARED

IN THE PRESS, I BELIEVE THE THRUST OF MY EARLIER LETTER HAS BEEN GENERALLY RECOGNIZED: THERE IS A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT MAY BE LOST. AS YOU PUT IT, WE MUST TRY TO FIND A COMPROMISE.

D. "I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT I DO REMEMBER YOUR ADVICE ABOUT DEALING WITH SMITH AND I AM AWARE OF THE REASONS THE NATIONALISTS WANT TO BE ASSURED THAT SMITH CANNOT CONTROL OR DISTORT THE INTENDED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PROCESS TO RETAIN THE POWER HE IS NOW COMMITTED TO RELINQUISH. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE LARGELY AFRICAN, HE TOO WANTS ASSURANCES THAT THE ORDERLY TRANSITIONAL PROCESS WHICH IS INTENDED TO SAFEGUARD WHITE RHODESIAN INTERESTS CANNOT BE ABORTED OR FORESHORTENED BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE. IF AGREEMENT CANNOT BE REACHED ON A STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT THAT PROVIDES SUCH ASSURANCES FOR THE TRANSITION THERE IS A REAL DANGER HE WILL SEEK TO BACK OUT OF HIS COMMITMENT TO THE PRESENT PROCESS AND FIGHT TO PURSUE HIS OWN COURSE.

E. "SMITH MUST AGREE TO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO WHICH HE WILL HAND OVER POWER. WE CANNOT IMPOSE ONE, NOR CAN THE BRITISH. THIS IS NOT A MATTER OF US, BRITISH, OR SOUTH AFRICAN POWER, OR LACK THEREOF. SMITH'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 24 RESULTED FROM A COMBINATION OF FACTORS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH WAS THE ATTRACTION OF AN ORDERLY TRANSITION THAT WOULD PROTECT AGAINST SUDDEN INSTABILITY AND LOSS OF CONFIDENCE.

F. "HOW TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS SUITABLE TO BOTH SIDES IS THE ONLY REAL QUESTION. YOU HAVE SUGGESTED GREATER BRITISH INVOLVEMENT AS SOMETHING THAT WOULD HELP AND MY RECENT TALKS WITH THE BRITISH HAVE REVEALED THAT THEY ARE NOW READY TO CONSIDER SOME KIND OF ROLE. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE US IS NOT AND HAS NEVER BEEN OPPOSED TO BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IT WAS THE BRITISH WHO SEEMED ADAMANTLY OPPOSED, AS A RESULT OF WHICH WE REFRAINED FROM PRESSING THEM ON THE MATTER. THE RHODESIANS AND CERTAIN OF THE NATIONALISTS CERTAINLY APPEAR TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT
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OR TO OPPOSE TOO GREAT A BRITISH ROLE. PRESUMABLY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED. WE KNOW OF NO INSUPERABLE OPPOSITION FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

G. "THE ACCEPTABILITY OF A BRITISH ROLE WILL OBVIOUSLY DEPEND ON ITS NATURE. AS YOU POINT OUT, ANYONE WHOM THE BRITISH APPOINT AS THEIR SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE CHOSEN WITH ATTENTION TO THE NOMINEE'S LIKELY ACCEPTABILITY.

TY TO ALL THE PARTIES. WHETHER THE PARTIES OR BRITAIN ALONE SHOULD HAVE A VOICE IN SUCH CHOICE WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT QUESTION. MY EARLIER COMMENT ON THIS MATTER WAS BASED ON THE IMPRESSION CREATED BY THE TEXT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S PROPOSAL WHICH SEEMED TO PLACE NEARLY EXCLUSIVE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF A NATIONALIST-CONTROLLED COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THIS IS THE KIND OF QUESTION THAT MUST OBVIOUSLY BE NEGOTIATED AS PART OF ANY AGREEMENT.

H. "ON NAMIBIA, THERE STILL APPEARS TO BE SOME DIFFERENCE OF INTERPRETATION REGARDING THE KIND OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE THAT CAN BE HELD TO ACCOMMODATE ALL THE PARTIES. IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH THIS ADEQUATELY, I SHALL WRITE TO YOU SEPARATELY TO REITERATE THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH I BELIEVE SUCH A CONFERENCE CAN MEET AND SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATE EARLY NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

I. "AGAIN, LET ME EXPRESS MY GREAT APPRECIATION FOR YOUR OWN STRONG INTEREST AND ATTENTION TO THESE ISSUES. I SEND YOU WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS. SINCERELY."

3. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE TRANSMITTAL OF THE FOREGOING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

4. DRAFTED: AF:WBEDMONDSON CLEARED:S:DPASSAGE. ROBINSON

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